1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from 2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they substitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was occurring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary, because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism. They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave. He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.

One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months. Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the land really belonged.

It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession of land.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 to 500 before the war. Rent is usually paid in milk, in an amount equaling
427 the grain needed to seed the field pastured. If it takes normally 500 okas
246 of seed (23.5 bushels) to put in the crop on the area rented, then the shepherd will pay 500 okas (1410 pounds, or 169 gallons) of milk. The land available has usually been in a crop the year or two before, but is allowed to lie fallow this one year and is thus free for pasturage. Only three or four Valtetsi families have been able to buy their own land down below, but they too bring their flocks back to Valtetsi in the spring.

434 As very little farming can be done on the steep and rocky hillsides
464 around Valtetsi, many of its people, like those from Parthenon, go to the
[321] plains below in June to help harvest the grain. In the late fall and winter,
[465] while pasturing below, some of them help with the gathering of the olives. They are usually paid in kind for such work, an important way of eking out their annual food supply. Other income, of course, is derived from the sale of milk, cheese, wool, and an occasional live animal. Most of the
426 shepherds are in debt to two outside "grocers" (whom they also call
452 "outsiders" or "foreigners"), who advance the equivalent of about $33 to a shepherd against the following season's milk products and agree to the
578 retirement of the debt at a fixed price per oka of milk or cheese. The price
[609] is said to be put so low that the grocer seldom loses, but if there is a rise in price he absorbs all of the profit, further disgruntling the shepherds indebted to him. Some of the conversation went like this:

"We had a bad winter this year. The pastures were not good because it didn't rain. We had to buy fodder to carry our flocks through and thus became heavily indebted to the grocer."

"Yes," added another, "the government shouldn't let these grocers exploit us so."

[474] "But," we asked, "why don't you form a dairy cooperative like some
[157] other villages and market your own milk products yourselves?"

"Oh, we could never get together on anything like that," said one, and all the others shook their heads affirmatively. And they then smiled half-ashamedly and yet amused at themselves when a city Greek pointed out to them, "Why are you then blaming the government when you have just admitted that the fault lies in your own individualism and your failure to cooperate?"

233 As a flock passed through the village on its way to be milked after a
533 morning in the fields, I began to ask about the bells, whose assorted sizes made a peculiar and not unpleasing harmony as the animals hurriedly moved homewards. Then the Valtetsi shepherds confirmed what I had been told before — that the selection of bells is one of the tasks the shepherd takes most seriously. He goes to one of the metalworking shops in the market town and picks out a very deep bell with a pleasing tone. This he

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

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These nomads apparently feel that many of the keep-off signs are put up out of spite, thus bringing to light the distrust between the peasant and the nomad. I had read a most unfavorable characterization of the Vlach, which discussed the peasant's hostility to the nomad, in *Home Life in Hellas* by Z. Duckett Ferriman. Writing in 1910, he said:

> The Vlach ignores the law and defies it. His presence in the vicinity of civilization is marked by rapine. He will steal the flocks of the peasant when he can, and will pasture his own flocks on their growing crops. He is a nuisance to the neighborhood he visits, and the peasantry are heartily glad when he takes his departure in spring to share the mountain with the wild boar and the eagle. Devastation marks his progress. . . .[13]

In 1953 I gained no such picture of the nomad, nor did any of the Greek officials or peasants with whom I talked try to give the nomad such a bad reputation. Their major concern in the border area was more with the political reliability of the nomad, particularly the Karagouni. Perhaps it was some of the age-old distrust coming to the fore, but seldom did the Greek soldiers in World War II place much confidence in these wandering shepherds. Because of this, I was not surprised to learn from Berates and his men that they felt that the government was bent on destroying their way of life and forcing them into other occupations. At least three rather high officials in Northern Greece confirmed this point of view, but insisted that the policies were ultimately in the nomads' interest.

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The whole problem was neatly summarized by Michael Adler, a field representative of the American Mission to Greece, who has had a long and distinguished period of service both in Epirus and Macedonia. He pointed out that what we were witnessing was an attempt to bring conditions of four hundred years ago up to date. Since under Turkish rule large areas of land were rented to these wandering shepherds, the tax collector knew where to find them as they came and went on their migrations. Upon liberation in the nineteenth century, the Greeks settled on the land and started developing their own flocks; competition became very keen and the nomads began to get the worst of it. With the coming of the flood of refugees from Asia Minor in the twenties, much land formerly used for grazing was turned into cropland. More recently the border areas, particularly those in Macedonia, which formerly supported thousands of animals, have been closed, with the result that the nomadic people are more and more being forced into a pocket toward the plain, where they are naturally not particularly welcome. Adler had found the nomadic peoples intelligent and fully aware of the situation, and he felt that most of them, particularly the young men, were seeking permanent settlement as fast as this could be arranged. In any event, the gaining of citizens' rights means for the erstwhile nomads that they can no longer be misused by those who don't want them. In other

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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but these did not hamper the family's activities at all — "Just like a flea on an elephant," as one of my informants put it.

Originally, late in the nineteenth century, when the family began to rise to prominence, there were four brothers. The second brother became the head, "because he had the most brains," it was said. Upon his death the eldest became head. When the eldest died, the third in line took over until he was killed by the Italians in 1940. Since that time the fourth brother has been chief. Now the family is said to be so numerous that it has run out of names and so has called the most recent arrival "Petoules Petoules." The chief's consent is necessary for the marriage arrangements for everyone in the family and also for all of the hired shepherds employed by it. The family still sticks solely to livestock production but is building huge refrigerators for the cheese awaiting sale and delivery.

The Petoules family is now the exception rather than the rule. For many years to come the tselingata will exist in modified form, but more and more the central government will become a substitute for the arbitrary rule of the chief shepherd.[13] Where some old patriarch still holds sway, his grandsons coming back from a tour of duty in the army will plague him with their new ideas, and many will, as many are already doing, refuse to go off on lonely vigils with their flocks. Today hired shepherds are hard to find and the army experience is mentioned over and over again as the cause of the shift to other occupations. Young men with vision, seeing that the future lies elsewhere, are planning accordingly.

Stress and Strain

The changing life of the shepherd is seen not only in the movement of his flocks from one pasture to another and in his adjustment to the solitude of days away from home; many facets of his life also are revealed in the study of his village, as our visit to Valtetsi showed. The real stress and strain between two coexistent ways of life — pastoralism and agriculture — are felt in personal community relationships even more than in the impersonal contacts between peasants and shepherds on the highway.

Greek villages, of course, run the gamut from those where every family is primarily pastoral to those where the only sheep or goats kept are the two or three around the house for a small family milk supply. In between are those with a mixed economy.[14] Two villages of this type, both of which happen to be in Roumele, illustrate the kind of conflict that springs up between farmers and livestock owners, a conflict reminiscent of our earlier American West with the hostility between the open-range cattlemen and the sodbusters who put up barbed-wire fences.

In the first village, near Mesolongi, the farmers complain that they have no security in their fields because the livestock owners have the major power and influence and they follow the old tradition of allowing the flocks

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

to graze all over the community area as soon as the harvest is in. If the farmers leave any grain in the fields after harvesting, the sheep seem to think it part of their daily ration and tackle it with delight. The farmers have little recourse, since the sheep owners are elected as community councilmen and officers of the cooperative and are always in a position to defend their interests.

Much the same situation prevails in a village near Agrinion where over seven thousand sheep and over one thousand goats are kept. Recently, some of what was formerly pasture land has been distributed to those without land, through a cooperative association newly formed for that purpose, thus restricting the amount of grazing area. These new owners, as well as others without livestock, resent the invasion of their fields by the flocks immediately after harvest. Little control can be exercised unless shepherds so desire, for none of the parcels are fenced off and it is customary to let the animals roam at will when crops are in.

The nomarch of Serrai stated that in his area of Macedonia it was very common for the whole community to rise up in protest against the pasturing of the flocks by shepherds on land belonging to the community. The shepherds insist that they will continue to use these lands; so the villagers come to the nomarch and ask whether or not they must let those so-and-sos graze sheep on their land. The nomarch assures them that they are within their rights to keep the shepherds off, and they leave the office with a determined look, as though no number of shepherds could budge them from their resolve. When these local leaders get back home, some shepherd comes up to them and says: "My sheep will die, my family will die if you don't let me use that land." The people then change their minds and give the shepherd permission to graze his flocks there. Later on, when they see the nomarch and he asks them what happened, they say: "Poor man, we couldn't let him starve, so we let the sheep graze there." But such disputes do not always end so amicably.

Another source of conflict is the lowly goat. The parties to the conflict are not peasants arguing it out with one another, but rather the forest service trying to forbid the peasants from keeping goats. During the dictatorship of General Metaxas (1936–1941), a law was passed and enforced which forbade the peasants from keeping goats. The justification for this measure is that goats, a browsing animal, do much more damage to the forests than do sheep, a grazing animal. In the case of a pastoral village in Western Macedonia, not far from Kastoria, the prewar number of eight thousand sheep and goats shrank during the conflict because of requisition by the guerrillas, army of occupation, and such, to seven hundred and fifty. In order to rebuild livestock numbers quickly as a means of eking out a living, the people got together flocks of goats. The Agricultural Office has supported them in this, while the Forestry Office opposes the idea. The

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

peasants argued to the foresters: "Ten communities in this area formerly made their living from goats and prospered; we know of no village which has made its living solely off forest products. We prefer the goats."

Then, as though to clinch their arguments, they pointed out that they must stable their goats for only forty days during a year, but their sheep, which cannot browse, need to be stabled and fed at home for one hundred and fifty days a year. To the peasants this is obviously an advantage; to the forestry program it is just as obviously a menace. The result: impasse.

The same question is being raised all over the country in villages as far apart as some on the Bulgarian border in Central Macedonia and others around Amphissa in Roumele. From the standpoint of these villagers the goat is the answer, but the central government seems to be backing the Forestry Office. Some commentators on the issue point out that the peasant's practice of setting fires to burn over land or accidentally starting fires through carelessness is perhaps as big an enemy to trees as the goat. It will be interesting a generation from now to see who has won out in these isolated mountainous outposts of Greece. (My bet is on the goat.)

A final contrast will reveal the complexity of small-livestock production in a country as regionally diverse as Greece. Many villages could be cited which twenty-five years ago possessed twenty thousand sheep or more. With the passing of the years, the numbers declined because of the gradual shrinkage of available pasture area. While sheep are still raised in these communities today, they are being further reduced and turned into "home flocks" fed in or near the village throughout the year. But a reverse process has also been in motion since 1950. In tobacco villages around Xanthe, in Thrace, sheep raising is being pushed by the agricultural authorities and loans are being extended by the Agricultural Bank — all to serve the double purpose of giving the depressed tobacco farmer some supplementary income and also to take advantage of unutilized pasture land in that part of the country.

This illustrates the fact that sheep (and goats) still are the best and at times the only sound economic adjustment to some of the terrain areas of Greece; almost everywhere they are good supplementary means of adjustment. There will probably be a stepped-up trend toward pasture improvement, which means that pastures — particularly those on the plains — can be made to carry more animals per acre. The day may come when the sheep will be driven in large trucks up to their summer pastures, thus avoiding the days of grazing along the roads of migration, or in many of the agricultural areas dairy cattle may replace sheep as producers of milk. But these developments are still in the future.

Symbolic of what seems to be in store for many shepherds was the quiet, middle-aged man we met in front of a coffeehouse in the refugee village of Menidi, between Agrinion and Arta in Roumele. There along the sea he

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

If he is thinking of buying land, he is apt to follow his own inclinations. The wife's own little private purse consists of money she gets from chickens and milk. She uses this money to meet "gaps in her budget."

Secondly, my informant pointed out, the wife is very influential with her husband when he is selecting a mate for the children. The father must give the official approval and the village looks to him, but the mother is the one who influences him. Rarely will the mother betray a naughty child to the man of the house, for she thinks the man might beat him too hard. She might refer discipline to the father if the child is fourteen or over or if he gets out of hand. In other words, children are threatened with the father. If the mother is the pillar of the house and the father considered weak, then the children protect the mother. If the mother is "no good," then everything is referred to and channeled to the father. In fact, a wife is called "no good" or "an animal" if she does not darn properly, sew all the clothes of the family, be economical with food, have meals ready when the others return from the field, or keep the house tidy.

Two home economists who had worked extensively in the villages of Northern and Central Greece reaffirmed that "the man is really the boss, not just in appearance but in practice": "When we want the girls to come to take lessons in home economics the girls say, 'My father won't let me.' But woman is the unknown heroine. Besides carrying all of the load she is also involved in major decisions. If the man tells his wife to go to the field to work and she refuses, they may quarrel, but if she has a reason he won't insist. Eggs and poultry are her responsibility and she can have her own money to get what she wants — such as shoes. In the everyday life of the children, the woman has the upper hand, but in decisions such as sending a son to the university the man will decide."

These two home economists made the further observation that the "married couple will quarrel if the man drinks too much, but the woman is inclined to keep her problems to herself and will not go home to her parents if she feels imposed upon. In general, romance in the Western sense does not exist, but there is a feeling of attachment and understanding. A good analogy is that between a senior and junior partner in some major undertaking."

One villager from Central Greece, a secretary of his local community council, summed up the status of woman by saying, "in the home the woman has the veto power."

There are several interpretations that might be placed on the seeming dominance of the man in Greek society. I could always arouse spirited discussion in any coffeehouse when I suggested that women were really the dominant force, that they had learned that their security lay in letting the men feel very important while the women went through the motions of showing respect to them. Actually, so this argument runs, women have made

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

being busily involved in some work project of his own. At two o'clock Yannes planned to serve olives, onions, and bread with plenty of red resinated wine.

We could not stay much longer with the potato diggers, for we still had to carry our greetings to the village farther on. But a few days later I did return to Neochori and went to Yannes' home to find out who had been invited and why. In some ways this visit proved even more interesting than the sojourn in the potato field. The men were all away from the house; so Yannes' wife invited us into the square room which served as the center of family life. We sat around a table and began to list the twenty-five men and the eighteen women who had been a part of the mutual-aid group. Soon we saw neighboring women peering at us through the open window; then they moved on around to the door where they could hear better what we were talking about. News of our arrival must have spread like magic, for before we completed our list the room was full of women — some sitting on the beds along the wall, but several standing in order to observe more minutely everything that was going on. It was out of the question to interview the wife confidentially about why she invited some women and not others. As a matter of fact, two or three women had already taken it upon themselves to answer every question put to Yannes' wife, so that she was simply nodding in assent to what they said.

In no time at all, with the help of the most vocal members of the group, we had listed the relationship of each potato worker to Yannes and his wife. A later count of this information showed that, after we excluded Yannes, the commission merchant, and his one helper from outside, only six of the twenty-two remaining men were unrelated to Yannes. Each of these six persons was a neighbor. Of the seventeen women invited (excluding Yannes' wife), all but four were related to Yannes, but four were neighbors. Thus it was evident that family considerations and neighboring played a significant part, even to the point that some relatives who were not good workers were invited "because they were relatives." In other words, family values rather than economic values, such as efficiency, came into play.

We had noted that many of the women in the potato field were in their late teens or early twenties and found that they were preferred to the middle-aged women who are, of course, not excluded. Perhaps the younger ones have stronger backs and have no grounds for refusing if their father or husband tells them to go and help. Although a man is preferred for this kind of work, there would be no ill feeling if Yannes repaid some man who helped him by sending one of the women in his household. "We don't keep such close count that such a substitution bothers us" was the way one woman reacted.

In the course of our crowded group interview we learned that women

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

issuing invitations usually avoid other women with whom they have had a recent quarrel, although they do not hesitate to invite two women on good terms with the hostess but not on good terms with each other. These women can usually stay far enough apart in such a large group that they do not have to associate with each other or air their differences. Men are said to be less inclined to let previous disagreements affect their invitations, even inviting those with whom they may have sharp differences. Their main concern is to get the job done. Just the same, they rely chiefly upon relatives and neighbors. The women in Yannes' living room all agreed that there was no one in the village who had the reputation for not paying back the work that others had contributed, which shows the seriousness with which this obligation is assumed and discharged.

But no interview in a Greek village is a one-sided affair. The visitor has to answer questions if he has asked them. Never have I heard questions fly quicker and faster than on this visit to Neochori when the women sensed that I had finished my inquiry about potato diggers. My interpreter was quizzed about her life in Athens, where she got her clothes, how she had learned to drive a car, and about members of her family. I was asked about my income in America, what kind of kitchen my wife had, and about many details which she could have answered much better than I if she had been able to accompany us up from Athens on that particular afternoon. This occasion showed that when the Greek villagers began to express themselves on their home ground, in a familiar setting, they stood out as inquisitive, interesting personalities who shared many of the same concerns as fellow human beings in other countries despite their noticeable differences of dress, speech, and other cultural manifestations.

In driving back to Athens we had to pass the same potato field which had been the cause of this excursion. I thought at the time that a study, at a later date, of changes in the mutual-aid groups would tell much about changes in Greek life in general. Will mechanization eliminate the necessity of group harvesting? Will economic considerations so rule a later day that Yannes will invite only efficient workers from throughout the village, or will he continue to use relatives and neighbors because of his close social bonds with them?

Traditional Patterns of Mutual Aid

Throughout rural Greece one finds many examples of mutual aid. Even proverbs attest to the value of cooperation: "bean by bean the bag is filled"; "many streams make up the river"; "many stones knock down the walnut." Union in strength is stressed as well: "where there are many, God's blessing"; "where there are many, many riches"; "the many are the ones who will take Constantinople."

It is understood, too, that each party will live up to his end of the bar-

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

earth-shaking political event would call forth a variety of opinions forcefully expressed.

A second attraction is drinking with one's friends. According to Photiadis:[1]

> The alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages tend to contribute to a considerable degree to the attraction of the coffeehouse, even though the men can drink all they want in their own homes. *Ouzo*, the alcoholic drink, is drunk only in the coffeehouse. When asked why they don't drink it at home and save money, they will answer that "*ouzo* is drunk only with good company."

It is interesting to remember what has already been pointed out: that a son is customarily supposed to visit a coffeehouse in which his father is not likely to be found. Although "times are changing," a breach of this custom throughout much of rural Greece would still be considered disrespectful. It may have some connection with the fact that a father, who is supposed to set a good example before his son, might find his storytelling or his convivial drinking dampened if a son were present. This is why, in village after village, where there are almost always three coffeehouses, one is favored by the old men, another by the middle-aged, and the third by the young people. Informants will say that the young people will go to their coffeeshop because one can listen to phonograph records, watch the girls pass by, or play noisy games that the older men might not tolerate. The real reason for differentiation may lie in the older traditions which originated in the men's desire to drink with their friends and equals. Photiadis in his study points out how the Greek peasant during his hours at work looks forward eagerly to the time of day when he can go "to the coffeehouse to meet his friends, have a few drinks, and continue this cycle again and again."

A third source of pleasure in the coffeehouse is the games. Playing for drinks is common with the loser paying for them. Very rarely do they play for money since it is prohibited by law. Sometimes they become involved in a game quite emotionally and when the game is over they eagerly look forward to the next meeting. A good card player is well-known and therefore is always surrounded by others watching him. Quarrels sometimes go along with the game. Characteristic is the sarcasm of the winner, or perhaps the participants, which tends to raise their emotions.

In addition to various kinds of card games, backgammon is commonly played. Once in a while one sees a chess game in progress.

A fourth and very important attraction of the coffeehouse is the availability of the recent newspaper and a radio. As Photiadis says:

> Non-farmers or part-time farmers stop to listen to the early news before they go to their work. During the day the older men sit for many hours in the coffeehouse listening to the radio. In the busy coffeehouse the early part of the eve-

[1] [Who described the Northern Greek village of Stravroupolis - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

our way back to Athens the next day as evening began to fall, we saw Mount Parnassus, snow-topped, off to the west, and knew that beyond it lay Delphi and its sacred shrine. In an ancient land, peasants of today were still wrestling with the problem of hunger; and generous people — Greek officials, millers, truck owners and truck drivers, and supporters of the International Red Cross — were expressing a common humanity. Village presidents, or local government in action, were the final link between the outside world and those in need.

Other trips, however, left one in a different mood. In the Peloponnesos, as in many parts of Greece, I found villagers who did not feel very kindly toward their community president, even though they had elected him. In one place a peasant, not without a trace of prejudice, remarked: "My brother-in-law was president of the council when the village road was built. He and the council decided how many days men of the family had to contribute and we got the job done. But our president now is a poor type of political leader. He plays favorites. He does not promise anything for the village as a whole; he has no concern for a much-needed bridge at the place where your car almost got stuck crossing the stream."

In another village, an old man who had spent five years as a young man in the United States complained: "In community affairs we have to elect a president who is 'in keeping' with the government in power, or else we get left out. But many of our village presidents take revenge on those villagers who disagree with them. In the States, if you are a Democrat nobody cares." When I asked in what ways the president could take revenge, he said that the president could make unfair work assignments to a community voluntary-labor project, make unequal distribution of welfare goods, and create difficulties for a man trying to get a loan through the cooperative.

But in many ways the community council has some control over the president because it can outvote him on crucial issues. In fact, a council will frequently have real discussions since each member feels well informed on village matters, which is all they are supposed to discuss, and can reflect the ideas of his friends, followers, or his coffeehouse clique. As one Greek official said, "The community council is a lively element in village life. The only point to remember is that council members are not educated enough to measure up to their tasks."

Some brief insight into how this process works is found in the case of Stavroupolis, a village whose coffeehouses were treated at some length in the preceding chapter. According to John Photiadis:

> Stavroupolis and the three other villages which form the Stavroupolis community are incorporated, with their government located in Stavroupolis. This government consists of an unpaid nine-member council elected by vote every four years, and a salaried mayor. For specific projects and activities, special committees are appointed from the council members and sometimes non-coun-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Although not all of these taxes apply directly to villages, some of them do. Mention has already been made of the personal work on community projects, as well as the tax on sale and purchase of cattle as evidence by the Neochori notice of bids for farming these out. In addition, there is a "head" tax ranging from twenty to fifty cents annually on each animal. A list of animals over two years of age is drawn up in March, or three months before the commune budget is due. Perhaps the most important of these revenues from the peasant point of view is the tax of 2 to 4 percent on his agricultural products, which the local government keeps. He pays this in lieu of a property tax on the land that he owns. When I explained to some of my Greek friends that property taxes were the chief source of revenue for many local governments in America, they asked if I meant agricultural land. When I answered in the affirmative, they were nonplussed and pointed out that it was much fairer to tax the products of the land than the land itself, since the products showed best of all the value of the land.

The Village and the Central Government

To understand the community council, one must see its relationship with the central government.[19] It does not, for instance, undertake to maintain law and order, since the local police are not under its jurisdiction, nor does it have much to say about its local school, except through an elected school board of limited powers. Even in those affairs where it is supposed to have jurisdiction, such as drawing up its own budget or arranging for the collection of taxes, it has to gain the approval of the nomarch, who is appointed by the Minister of Interior.

Only as I got to know some of the nomarchs did I begin to appreciate the relationship of the central to the local governments. One nomarch, Yannes Gotsis, was in charge of the nomos of Serrai in Macedonia in 1953. He seemed dedicated to his task and epitomized several of the qualities I have come to admire in many Greeks. We discussed the specifics of local government and the part that the nomarch plays, but he soon went beyond the technicalities of administration to something of its philosophy:

> In the majority of the Greeks there is a submerged desire to make a better future for as many people as possible. The Greek really wants a better community life, although he at times gives the impression that conflict is his basic urge. But along with his sense of community he has an appreciation for human personality, which means that if another person disagrees with him he does not try by force to get his own opinion accepted; he tries persuasion and explanation. If others continue to disagree, it is not because they fail to appreciate him but because they each have their own personality to put to the use of the community.

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 This led into a discussion of some of the kinds of conflict which occur in
634 the community and the part the nomarch has to play in resolving them. The
location of a new village church sometimes becomes an issue. Many argu-
578 ments are not based on any vested interest in a particular spot but on the individuals' assessment of what would in actuality be the best spot. In order to get proof that his idea is better than other ideas, a person will leave his farm work or close up his shop and go to the city where he can get the advice of some authority whom he can quote to support him. Or several villagers in disagreement will decide to go to the nomarch to get his opinion.

631 On another occasion I went with the nomarch of Kozane to visit a village
634 for which he had responsibility. The agriculturist for this nomos, who had
623 come with us, introduced many of the peasants to the nomarch before the
653 meeting began at the schoolhouse. Eventually the meeting got started. The nomarch, flanked on one side by the council president and on the other by the council secretary, got down to business in a most direct way. One man got up and described the condition of his home, in which he said
[727] he was ashamed to live. This village had been destroyed by the guerrillas and the need for help had been great. Because he had a special file for each village in his nomos, the nomarch knew that when he took office 75 percent of all the houses needed rebuilding but that now that figure had dropped to 29 percent. He reminded them that in his nomos there were four thousand families without housing or even an elementary roof over their heads, but said he would see what could be done. He then found out what they expected to do with the self-help program based on voluntary contributions of labor. He reminded them that on two occasions the state had given them about $1700 to help in the construction of a road to the village and that, in view of their present need, he would see if he could get another grant. This time he would pay wages so that they might have some much-needed income.

631 When we emerged from the crowded schoolhouse, I noticed that about
634 twenty men had stood outside trying to overhear what was going on. The
nomarch stopped to talk to some of them. When we had climbed into a
275 truck which was to take us across a muddy patch to our cars half-a-mile away, the black-robed priest came running up, an unkempt, unattractive fellow, to make a last-minute complaint to the nomarch. "Sir," he shouted, "did you know that the coffeehouse proprietor is now opening up on Sundays before the church service is over, which is contrary to the law?" The crowd looked amazed and eagerly waited to see how the nomarch would handle this troublesome complaint. He replied: "My good fellow, you go on and give them good enough sermons, and then the men won't want to go to the coffeehouse during church time."

631 Reference to one other nomarch will be enough to show the type of men
634 who were filling that post in 1953. Mr. Aronis was the nomarch of Kala-
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and receive fewer material rewards than to be dealt with impersonally and receive more material goods. Efficiency, then, whether in administration or in farm work, is something he does not initially value; he must be taught to value it if it is to assume any importance in his life.

As many observers have pointed out, the Greek — be he peasant or city dweller — is not loyal to an abstract political principle, nor is he loyal to a political organization as such.[16] He is loyal to a political leader but only so long as following that leader does not mean that he must become disloyal to himself and go against his own cherished opinions of what ought to be done. Therefore, he can switch from one political leader to another without any sense of betrayal and sees no inconsistency in contradictory political behavior because he does not behave by the principles by which contradictions are gauged. Each situation is a separate case to be judged by itself and precedents have little relevance.

The peasant, sitting in his smoke-filled coffeehouse, is interested in hearing what others say about politics in Athens, not because he feels very closely identified with one party or the other, but because he tries to figure out what the meaning of each event is for his own particular existence. Few villagers are truly partisan in their political allegiance, which explains why it is almost impossible to maintain even a semblance of a party organization in a village. The parties do not even try. When elections are coming up, the candidates know the names of local people who have been sympathetic in the past and, through their help, try to work up a little political rally at which they can state why they should be supported for office. Around election time I chanced to be in several villages when these candidates made their appearance. On the whole, they drew small crowds, and even those who had decided to vote for them did not bother to go take a look at their chosen man. If this office seeker is to be "used" later on, one would think that here would be an excellent opportunity for the villager to establish the personal contact he might later exploit. But the peasant does not think this far ahead and, furthermore, probably assumes that the need for the politician's help might not arise.

When I listened to the peasants criticize their politicians, even those for whom they had voted and still supported, I realized that a foreigner might be tempted to read too much disapproval in comments which were made primarily to build up the ego of the critic. For, when I turned to such a critic after he had devastatingly, in his opinion, torn some program or political position to shreds, and asked "what do you suggest that the political leaders do instead?", the only reply given was: "I don't know because I'm not a politician."

I was also interested to note that there was relatively little disruptive political factionalism in a Greek village. Forty percent of the people may tend to support one party or leader, and they are not apt to switch to back

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

665 the rival party the other sixty percent support. However, should occasion
578 seem opportune, a great number of them might switch to the support of a
666 third party simply as a means of expressing disapproval of the performance of the ones they have been supporting. But let the men of a village find some common denominator, such as the erection of a school or a church building, and they will forget their political differences.

829 In conclusion, the best way to characterize "the peasant and politics" is
66 in terms of indifference. This is especially true if one looks on politics as
369 an organized way of bringing certain measures to pass through the election of officials committed to carrying them out. This has never worked for the Greek peasant in the past, and he is dubious about its merits in the future. If one means by politics the utilization of personal and family contacts with politicians and officials to get some gain for oneself, then the peasant can understand its significance and see its value. For, after all, politics and politicians are associated with the city and especially with Athens. Villagers are caught up in the backwash and, in their view of the world, have little importance as active agents. Political phenomena, like the weather, have to be endured, although now and then some useful protection from each might be sought in personal initiative, but not by group effort.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

575 [474] For men, the cooperatives are the chief associations, although meetings are relatively infrequent since these are primarily service organizations. They have not yet really taken on the educational role displayed by the youth or women's groups.

At best, these organizations which have been described exist to satisfy the interests of the members who affiliate. Unlike the institutionalized church board, school board, and community council, they do not exist to serve community-wide needs even though many of their stated purposes might contain grandiose aims. Most of these are not organizations which the villagers themselves have created, but have been formed in response to outside pressures and have been founded in the hope that they will do something to help the villagers have a better life. What makes the promotion 575 of such organizations difficult is the utter lack on the part of the peasant 571 of an abstract loyalty to an organization; he goes if he wants to or if he likes the agent from outside — not because he feels it his duty as a member to support the group of which he is a part.

Even if the numbers of organizations in rural Greece were doubled and the membership quadrupled, it is hardly likely that the Greek peasant would think of the "organizational approach" to problem solving. Where some Americans might get together and form a group to deal with a problem, the Greek peasants would either say "let the central government do it" or, if they are more sophisticated, relegate it to the community council to worry about. There is no tie-in between individual responsibility and membership-in-action groups, such as one finds in suburban America; the peasant is in the preorganization stage, which perhaps indicates why his life seems so untrammeled to those who get to know him well.

The Sense of Community

621 182 Greek village life has a unity in the sense that the peasants see their life as a whole and do not compartmentalize it in the way that it has been presented here. They make no distinction between religion and agriculture, family life and recreation, mutual aid and local government. Life flows on day by day, each day with its own tasks and joys, but marked by the variations which the seasons bring. Nor does the Greek villager distinguish in his mind among his village as a place or physical setting, his home, or the people who walk the streets. All these, to which we might also add the donkeys, goats, and other animals, possess a unity in that they fit together as a part of his accustomed world.

621 ●578 665 669 182 But Greek village life does not have a unity in the sense that there is perfect agreement within the community on every course of action or in the sense that people placidly sit by and concur in what a few self-appointed leaders might choose to do. Factions arise, and many of them persist. These can arise in time of war when rival armies visit the village in the search

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for enemy sympathizers, thus presenting a wonderful chance for the unscrupulous person to denounce a fellow villager with whom he wants to even an old score. In the choice of sides in the Communist-inspired guerrilla war, for example, definite factions came into existence and their lines have not been altogether obliterated today.

Despite factionalism and the lack of idyllic harmony, it is correct to say that most villagers feel a sense of community. It may seem entirely absent whenever people are trying to persuade the villagers to carry out community improvements from which they can see no immediate benefit, but it is there to be reckoned with whenever the reputation or the safety of the community is threatened. To try to explain the basis for this sense of community is to review much of what has already been said, but perhaps it can be understood in terms of four divergent strands: *philotimo*, or ultrasensitive self-esteem; a common living space; shared institutions; and an accepted system of social control.

Philotimo. Social phenomena in Greece must be seen first in terms of individuals, who in turn cannot be understood without recognizing the national trait of philotimo. Dorothy Lee has clearly explained this complex character trait:

> Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. . . . This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work are not cast in the mold of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*. . . . The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope* a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*.[3]

Dr. Lee then goes on to explain that the essence of philotimo is inviolability and freedom and that the sense of inviolability makes a Greek extremely "touchy." An offended philotimo leads to retaliation, not self-reproach. She writes:

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mately the standard she had at home? How many brothers does the groom have who are also going to be farmers and who will, therefore, have to share the house itself, or for whom some housing provision must eventually be made? Because personal qualities of the prospective groom will influence the success with which he manages his own and his dower properties, a father asks whether the groom has a reputation for industriousness. Is there any danger that the groom will "eat" the dowry properties, as the villagers phrase a propensity for using capital resources for current needs or for luxuries? Are the groom's father and brothers sober men who will conserve property and work to get the best income from it?

In short, the bride's father wants to assure, insofar as he is able, the future well-being of his daughter and of her children. He also wants the emotional satisfaction of having been successful at making a good arrangement for her. One village father pointed to a field we were passing and explained that he had given it to his daughter as part of her *prika* (dowry), so that all the cotton from the field was for his grandson. He then went on to say that he had married his daughter well and said of his three-year-old grandson, "Who knows, one day he might become a lawyer or a doctor. He has a brain, the little one." The implication was that he, the farmer, had contributed to whatever the final destiny of his grandson might be by having supplied such good fields for his daughter's dowry.

A girl's parents also want assurance that she will live in a congenial household. They hope that the new mother-in-law and the groom's sisters will accept the girl with good grace and that she will be decently treated. A man's wife and daughter will always remind him of the resources the family has already expended on the trousseau and the skill with which they were woven. From the women's point of view, these are important parts of the cost, and they want a girl to go to a family which will appreciate both the quantity and the fine workmanship of the *rukha*. Some friction between a girl and her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law is accepted in Vasilika as part of the condition of marriage to a farmer. The severity of friction is mitigated, however, by the independent dignity a girl acquires by having brought her husband a dowry and by the pride her husband's family takes in their own skill at having helped arrange a good marriage for their son.

The groom's interest, on the other hand, is to supplement his patrimony with as much land and cash as he can get from his wife's dowry. After their marriage, the husband and wife will have jurisdiction over her dowry properties. Unless the marriage contract states otherwise, and it rarely does in marriages between a farmer and a village girl, the husband has the right to the management and control of movable and personal property that he received with his wife and the management of the real estate given as part of the dowry. The alienation of movable dower property requires only the informal consent of his wife, while the alienation of real estate requires a formal notarized consent statement from his wife and the permission of the court (Civil Code Sections 1416 and 1417). (The groom's father, therefore, is interested only from the standpoint of the general welfare of his son. He himself will have no direct control over his daughter-in-law's land or money.)

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of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

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relatives who are, of course, automatically acquired by birth. Certainly this is a real distinction between the affinals and *kumbari*, on the one hand, and consanguineals on the other, but, in Vasilika at least, it is not a difference of preponderant functional importance. In practice, any significant relationships established even between consanguineal kin outside of the elementary family are voluntarily arranged, and this element of the situation is more important than is the fact that the pool of blood kin from whom a man or woman can make the choice is predetermined.

Let us summarize the situation this way: A man and his elementary family can normally provide all the personnel needed for the year-round functions on his farm. At peak periods the farmer hires the necessary additional labor. However, from time to time he may need temporary help. He may need an extra horse for plowing, or he may want to join with someone to fill a truck with grain for a trip to the mill or with cotton for a trip to the gin; or he may need an extra hand or two to string tobacco or to separate cotton from the pod, or he may want someone to help with irrigation, or he may wish to join with another family for the Easter feast. For both giving and receiving assistance of this kind, Vasilika's farmers seem to consider all the village's inhabitants, kin or non-kin, *kumbari* or non-*kumbari*, neighbor or non-neighbor, as almost equally suitable candidates. A farmer may choose one non-neighbor villager who has a good horse, and exchange plowing assistance with him, a next-door neighbor with whom he joins in sending grain to the mill, a village sister to help with tobacco stringing to whom he gives a bottle of wine or the like in return, and so on. Moreover, none of these arrangements is necessarily permanent; the personnel may vary from year to year and from season to season. Indeed, shifting relationships of this kind are more common than permanent ones. From our point of view, the significance lies in the fact that whether or not kin are involved, the type of association is the same.

There is one notable exception. No matter how valuable assistance might be, it is not sought after if the individuals capable of rendering it belong to a family with whom there is an acute, even if temporary, disagreement. For example, although one of the village girls was adept at giving penicillin injections, a woman from a family which was on bad terms with that of the girl preferred to leave the village for a week to live with a town relative who was also capable of giving the injections. The trip was inconvenient for the ill woman's family, and since she was not fond of her relative, the visit was actually distasteful to her. But neither of these considerations was compelling enough to have her choose what in her and her family's opinion was the worse alternative—to ask assistance from a village family with whom they were currently in acrimonious rivalry. Feuding of this kind can occur among kin as well as among neighbors.

Apart from the agricultural production cycle and other predominantly village-centered activities, Vasilika's farmers need help in arranging marriages, in educating their children, in finding employment, in dealing with government officials and with merchants to whom they sell their produce. They also want some urban associations simply for prestige, and to provide a place to stay if they visit towns and cities. For these extra-village purposes, a farmer is more likely

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village culture: man must use human means toward human ends, and this is his first obligation not only to himself but to God.

In Vasilika, the same tension—the sense of a contest, of struggle, of agony, of a kind of pushing and pulling—is also a feature of a large number of encounters with other human beings. In earlier discussions I referred to the economic rivalries among families in the village and to the efforts to keep family activities private to the point where a kind of espionage is practiced by all the villagers to uncover secrets. These contests we may now understand as one manifestation of the agonistic quality of many human relationships within the village. But seemingly perpetual battles require an occasional respite; the nervous vitality which they drain must be replenished. In Vasilika, some relationships within the family seem to contribute the respite and the energy to go on fighting the battles, whereas others appear to create the sense that perpetual struggle, principally outside the family, is a part of life. The family both starts the battle and also manufactures and distributes the weapons with which to fight it.

What is the ultimate aim of the battle, if I may continue the metaphor? It would seem that each man and woman seeks for identity, for a concept of self, and given the conditions of Greek village culture and its values, the search is carried on by pitting oneself against another, or against fate. One learns to know oneself primarily by contrast with others; and therefore the maintenance of some difference is a necessity. Contrasts, and the tension contrasts create, become expected and desired. Without change and variation the villagers lose their sense of life. But the need to engage in perptual struggle is an emotional burden, especially because there must be some who lose in the contests. A man is not completely disgraced in the villagers' view, however, if he is bested in an encounter with another man, provided that he was willing to engage himself in the struggle in the first place and showed skill in his conduct of it. Just as agricultural failure is attributable to uncontrollable forces only if a man did his physical best, so failure in human relations is attributable to some other force only if a man has first made a creditable effort. It would seem that it is not the outcome but the continuing *aghonia* that gives a village man or woman the feeling that he is a functioning human being, that he has an identity, that he is alive. *"Perazmena, ksehazmena,"* "What is past is forgotten," the villagers say, and although they say so mostly in connection with unpleasantness, the saying is equally applicable to victories. For both victory and defeat are shortlived; a new area of battle constantly supersedes the old.

This struggle is not something which is entered into as a new pattern when men and women take on the responsibilities of a family, after a childhood spent without it. On the contrary, Vasilika's culture is one of those in which there is a continuity in the behavior and attitudes expected of children, adolescents, and adults. There are no sharp breaks; from their earliest days the upbringing of children plunges them into the role of agonist, and skills for functioning in this fashion are acquired in all stages of a child's development.

The villagers assume that intelligence and self-control are basic human qualities which differentiate men from animals. The villagers are in many ways

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855 865 Lying to children as a kind of palliative occurs in less dramatic ways as well. On one occasion, a mother was washing the legs of her two-year-old daughter. The child was standing on a table to be nearer the small water container hanging on the wall. When her mother finished, the girl did not want to come down off the table. She resisted, stamping her feet and calling for more water to play with. Her mother told her in a mild tone that there was no more water. This did not satisfy the child; she resisted further and finally the mother turned the spigot on and let her play with the water, of which there was quite a supply, for a few more minutes until the girl herself was ready to stop.

855 867 [593] In both these instances the child easily detected the deceit of his elders. However, since there are occasions on which his father actually is in the next room and does give him candy, and other occasions when the water actually has run out, a child cannot know in advance when he is being deceived and when he is not. Inconsistency in the actions of elders results in a wariness in accepting or rejecting the statements of others, even within the family. Children may learn to love and respect their elders, but it is not required that they trust them completely.

577 867 156 [578] Lying to children is one aspect of the general attitude toward truth and falsity characteristic of the village's adults. In the village the word for lies, *psemata*, is used much more freely, with less emotional intensity, and with a milder pejorative connotation than Americans use the English word. "Let's tell a few more lies and then go home," a man once remarked jovially near the end of a social evening. To accuse someone of mendacity is not the gross insult it is in the United States; it may be meant as a statement of fact in a situation in which, in village expectation, it would not be unusual for a person to attempt some deception. As in the training of children, some form of deception as a means of achieving a particular good is acceptable as a technique for conducting one's affairs in the village or with outsiders. Each man and woman expects to develop skills both in the art of guilefulness and in the art of detecting guilefulness in others. Vasilika's villagers are not humiliated because someone tries to deceive them; they become angry only if the deception succeeds. In other words, if a person is gullible enough to have been misled, he gets angry at the deceiver for having made a fool of him, and this results in accusations and counter-accusations. The standard phrase for deceptions means literally "He has made a laughing stock of me," *"Me yelase."* Older children who have learned to turn the tables on their parents and try to deceive them are admired even as they are scolded. Certainly any child who, in mild ways, learns to take advantage of a neighbor or another villager is privately approved of by his parents as *"ponyiros,"* "cleverly bad," although the neighbors use less ambivalent epithets.

156 577 578 The constant vigilance necessary to avert becoming a dupe is certainly one of the sources of tension in the conduct of human relations in the village. An American must not make the mistake of assuming, however, that these strains have the same effect on Vasilika's inhabitants that they would have on middle-class Americans whose training has included a stress on consistency and truthfulness. In Vasilika, the expectation of, and conditioning for, deceit does not

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eliminate the objective, realistic discomforts of living with somewhat unpredictable human beings, but the cultural expectation does seem to eliminate some of the intensity generated by the conflict.

The total situation does not result in an inability to predict the behavior of others to the point of chaos in human relationships, but rather in an expectation on the part of the villagers of a wide range of alternative actions and responses by others. There is uncertainty within set limits, but there is also an enjoyment of, and a taste for, the unpredictable. In a sense, when the villagers know each other so well that they can predict reactions with some precision, they are bored and look for other diversion.

Conversation and Argument

So far, teasing and deceptive acts have been stressed as elements in the contest of human relations. We may now turn to another type of weapon: conversation and argument. Students of Greek society and culture invariably mention the Greek's love of talk. The villagers of Vasilika are not different in this respect. Again, even infants become accustomed to a stream of conversation whenever others are around them, and they themselves are talked to and are assumed to make responses. When babies cry they are often said to be talking, *"Milai to moro,"* and *milai* is the standard word for talk. If a baby hiccoughs, they say it is talking to someone who is absent, such as a maternal grandmother in another village. By listening to the talk around him, and by participating in it, the young child learns the functions of speech. In the village, children may be told to be quiet when they interrupt adult conversation, but this occurs only when the elders do not want to be interrupted. Children are not silenced on any general principle that they should be seen and not heard.

A child in the village quickly learns that some kinds of conversations communicate information, that others are merely a verbal accompaniment to activities, and still others are a form of recreation and part of the contest in human relations. Inside their homes children hear discussions of plans for the day and speculations about the weather and about neighbors. This kind of talk is a form of fairly direct transfer of thought and information. The child also learns that many ordinary, apparently routine activities are carried on to the accompaniment of a stream of comment and advice and that only a small proportion of what is said genuinely influences the person to whom the advice is given. For example, if neighbors are visiting with a woman who is about to place some loaves of bread in the oven, a discussion ensues as to what design to use for the slits in the top of the loaf, as to whether the bread has risen sufficiently, and as to whether the oven is hot enough. The housewife may have been baking bread every week or so for twenty years, but the discussion could easily give an outsider the impression that she was a novice. Agricultural decisions, such as on just how to place a few corn plants in amongst the rows of cotton, are discussed anew each year. Even at a baptism in Vasilika, the ceremony is punctuated by comments as to whether the baptismal water is too hot or too cold and as to how to wrap the

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is not to admit one's own shortcomings, so a family will protect its members by overt support even when they engage in admittedly deviant behavior. An individual is told within the family circle that he is bringing disgrace on all its members, but he knows equally well that the family will protect him outside from as many of the consequences of his acts as possible. Families sacrifice much to send offending sons and daughters into other communities or to protect them in other ways. Children, in turn, speak well of their parents and tell of their accomplishments, even under circumstances in which the facts would not warrant such loyalty. The combat unit, for some occasions at least, is therefore the entire elementary family in its relationships with other families, and, indeed, with the rest of the world.

Congruent with this state of affairs is the fact that when the battle is not between families, the lines of antagonism are not drawn between age grades or sexes. The battle is not between the old and the young, or between men and women. It is rather old against other old, young against other young, men against other men, and women against other women.

Let us consider age groupings first. These are seen by the villagers roughly as pre-school children; school children up to twelve years old, at which time they have finished the elementary grades; adolescents, who are considered young until they marry; married adults; and finally elders, marked by the fact that their children are married. The divisions are not clearly defined and there is much overlapping, but to a certain extent each younger group treats the next older category of people with at least some of the deference with which all treat the elders; and each older group treats the next younger with some of the peremptoriness with which the elders are entitled to treat all others. Since the patterns of deference toward older men and the reciprocal nondeference are the standards for behavior among people of different social position, they shall be described here. Older men are always seated quickly and are not left standing under any circumstances. In the winter their seat is directly opposite the fireplace, while the women and children sit at right angles to the men. Older men are given the best chair the establishment affords; they are permitted to lean against the stalls in the front of the church while others usually may not do so. Young men do not smoke in front of their fathers; there is an avoidance of ribald conversation between the age groups. Older men in the village are addressed by courtesy titles such as *barba* (uncle) or, if considerably older than the speaker, as *papuli* (grandfather); and older men are always served first if there are no visitors present. Within the family, sons and daughters kiss the hands of their parents when they return after an absence. All children do this for respected elders who visit the village, while a large majority of the villagers on formal occasions greet the village priest in this fashion.

Elders in their relations with younger people address them by their given names and have the privilege of ordering them to run errands or to perform all kinds of small services. The tone in which older people order the younger is loud, often peremptory, and frequently is an exhortation to hurry. *"Glighora!, glighora!,"* "Fast!" said in a tone of command and dismissal, is perhaps the most telling expression of a superordinate person's relation to a subordinate. The

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"glighora"* is never used by a younger person to an older one.

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants.

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest.

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations.

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too different from each other for that.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

wife must overcome overt cultural attitudes of deference and covert attitudes of sexual mistrust as well as what are undoubtedly unconscious conflicts about sexuality.

If there is tension between men and women in Vasilika, why is it possible to say that agonistic relationships do not exist between them? It is because the cultural differentiation and separation of the sexes makes them unequal and therefore not in a position for the direct, overt competition of which agonistic relations consist. The maintenance of this differentiation in the qualities and characteristics of women acts as a foil for the men—once again the contrast gives meaning to the self. For women, also, the contrast serves as a means of self-identification.

If age and sex are not the lines along which agonistic relations occur in Vasilika, then what is the structure of these relationships? Essentially, agonistic relations occur among those who, from the standpoint of village culture, are both separate and equal, and among men of the same age categories and women of the same age categories who are not members of the same elementary family and are in the same or adjacent social positions. This includes brothers in their relationships with each other and sisters in theirs, once these have married and have elementary families of their own. I have already suggested that brothers are rivals, and sisters also compete for the greater success of their husbands and children. Within the village, people who are not related to each other compete also, as do the people of Vasilika with the inhabitants of neighboring villages.

It is now possible to understand why, from the villagers' point of view, their cooperative arrangements with each other and with their urban connections tend to be impermanent (see the end of Chapter 4). Each request for help and each response to the request becomes part of the competitive struggle. The value of what is given and what is received must be judged at each encounter, and the potentialities for imbalance are always present and are frequently realized.

The alignments of kin and non-kin which lead outside the village and the quality of human relationships, both among the people of Vasilika and with those outside the village, have bearing on the nature of the village as a solidary community. This matter is the subject of the last chapter.

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take substantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for those outside the circle of one's own kin.

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the boundaries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather. However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958).

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

monasteries are there represented, each one inaccessible on its rock. Wayfarers seeking hospitality strive to attract the notice of monastic porters, remote and unheeding in their aerial gate-houses. Venerable bearded figures in flowing black robes dangle in nets above the abyss, or swing with grave and solemn motion upon rope-ladders; while their brethren labour unceasingly at windlasses and capstans high above the earth, and hoist provisions, firewood and travellers to their fastnesses among the rocks.

The Thebaid of Staghi to-day presents a very different picture: no more than four of the original twenty-four foundations are now inhabited. The history of the monasteries from the sixteenth century onwards is one long record of steadily declining numbers. There were interminable struggles for supremacy between the abbots of the Great Meteoron and the superiors of the hermitage of Panaghia Doupiani, who strove to retain their ancient title of 'Father of the ascetics of Staghi'. Discord rent the communities, there were disputes concerning the lands belonging to the monasteries, and before long the number of those inhabited was reduced to fourteen. The English travellers Holland and Hughes, who paid brief visits to the Meteora during the early part of the nineteenth century, found only ten remaining. During the further twenty years that elapsed before the advent of the Hon. Robert Curzon with his escort of brigands three more convents were abandoned.

As late as 1830 many of the caves which mark the perpendicular rock face were apparently inhabited: though whether by hermits or, as seems more probable, by refugees, is not entirely clear. Urquhart describes these cave-dwellings: some "like handsome houses, with regular landing-places, windows and projecting balconies", others, the smaller and meaner ones, "shut in with basket work, with a hole to enter by", and reached by curious ladders hanging like chains, some of which were drawn up when their lord and master was installed in his aerial dwelling; while those which were longer and gave access to the more elevated among the caves were pulled up fifteen or twenty feet from the ground and let down with "a strange clattering noise". All have been swept away and only the dark holes in the face of the cliff remain. By 1911 only thirty-eight monks were left, dispersed among four communities: the Great Meteoron, Aghios Barlaam, Aghios Stephanos and Aghia Trias. A monk from the Belgian monastery of Amay, who visited the Meteora in 1931, found the number of the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

sions, only to remember how precious a job is to every Greek, and how impossible it is for a man to throw up a position in disgust in the hope of finding another and better one. There are, however, other factors which make the position of wage and salary earners difficult, and foster chronic discontent among them.

Wages are low, and are constantly in danger of being undercut by young men coming from the villages in search of work. Such new arrivals can often afford to work for less than a regular urban resident, for they have no homes or families to maintain, and can, in summer at least, sleep outdoors and eat very little in order to save a small sum with which to return home in the fall. As a result, a large part of the building trades, for example, is in the hands of migrant labor. Unions can do little to improve wages or working conditions when dozens of applicants seek every job that opens, and are ready, if need be, to bid against one another in order to get employment at all. Moreover, the prestige accorded to white-collar work and to immunity from manual toil obviously puts the working class at a psychological disadvantage, and builds up a sense of grievance among those condemned to labor with their hands.

Like the hill villagers, the workingmen of the towns were deeply infiltrated by Communist propaganda during the second world war. Attacks upon the rich, as traitors to the nation and oppressors of the poor, won widespread response. And indeed, the conduct of the small group of wealthy men in Greece lent some color to the accusations which Communists launched against them. Most men of property felt it more vital to safeguard their possessions than to join in any active resistance to the German and Italian authorities. Many of them exhibited the same ruthlessness against everyone beyond the family circle that most Greeks exhibit, and did so even when people were actually starving in the streets, as they were in 1941. Acts of

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

565 generosity and kindliness did something to redeem the balance,
●578 but were comparatively rare. The wealthy classes did not, as a
669 rule, show much sign of social conscience or sense of obligation to the poor. Once again, the solidarity and exclusiveness of family sentiment interfered with larger loyalties and sympathies. The result was that antagonism between rich and poor broke out into the open during the war years, and has never since ceased to trouble the political stability of the country.

458 Economic conditions have been acting, for at least fifteen
465 years, to sharpen this feeling. Since 1941 Greece has experi-
578 enced a series of monetary inflations that raised prices, sometimes rapidly, sometimes more slowly, but always faster than adjustments were made in wage and salary scales. As prices outran wages, workingmen faced a series of crises, the more serious because their wage rates were low to begin with. Adjustments of wages, when they came, relieved the problem only temporarily until continuing inflation once again robbed the currency of part of its purchasing power.

The economic plight of white-collar employees was nearly the same as that of manual workingmen, for they, too, had to live on an income that regularly lagged behind the price level.
[554] Moreover, the fact that such persons had gone to school, and therefore felt they had a rightful claim to superior social status, did not make it easier for them to face a life of poverty. The fierce struggle to win a place in the government civil service was only matched by the chronic discontent of those who had succeeded in getting government jobs and then found that they could scarcely live on their salaries.

578 Fortunately for the political stability of the country, wage
669 earners and salaried classes are a minority in Greece. This is no
[565] more than a corollary of the small size and family character of most Greek economic undertakings. Nevertheless, if one adds the hillsmen of the countryside as a third more or less chroni-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

cally disaffected class, there emerges a formidable grouping of unstable and potentially revolutionary elements in present-day Greek society. The more conservative groups – farmers of the plains villages, shopkeepers, traders and property owners in the towns, and the handful of rich shipowners and other large capitalists – certainly outweigh the dissidents in normal times. But times have seldom been normal in recent Greek history, and the balance of forces has not uniformly inclined in favor of the established social order.

Public Life in 1947

The winter and spring of 1946–47 were months when the balance turned strongly against conservatism. As a matter of fact, Greece seemed then to teeter on the verge of Communist revolution. The Greek Communist party, acting in concert with the Communist governments and parties of neighboring countries to the north, and with the approval or perhaps under the instructions of the Russians, began to raise guerrilla bands in the mountains of Greece in the summer of 1946. Organizers met with rather quick response in many hill villages, where the young men and boys were stewing in their discontent and welcomed the high hopes held out to them by Communist promises. The national army was quite unable to check the spread of the guerrilla movement. For one thing, morale was uncertain. Many soldiers felt strong distaste for fighting fellow Greeks. When sallies were made from strong points which the army had constructed, the guerrillas simply melted away, only to reappear a few days later somewhere else, soon to return to the same district as before.

The morale of the government was equally uncertain. Communist lands were very near; Britain was embarrassed by financial difficulties; the United States was far away. No one was

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

ican aid programs on Greek society is to examine what has been accomplished in a few typical villages, for only after the agrarian problems of the nation have been somewhat relieved can there be much expectation of enriching or improving urban conditions.

Two general dividing lines separate the villages of Greece. By far the most important is the contrast, explained in Chapter 1, between hill and plain, that is, between food-deficit and food-surplus rural communities. A second general distinction is between those villages that underwent radical redistribution of land after World War I, and those where patterns of landownership have evolved piecemeal and privately without any massive governmental intervention. Generally, villages of the first type lie in the plains of the north, while all hill villages, and plains villages south of Thessaly, fall into the second category. In view of these important differences, it is necessary to study at least one village from each of these groupings.

Another point of distinction is the degree to which traditional patterns of village life underwent change during the past ten years. Some villages, whether by accident or thanks to intelligent and energetic leadership within the village, were able to undertake quite radical changes and profited very greatly from new techniques of agriculture. Others stayed generally within traditional frames. Still others were able to make only halfway satisfactory changes in old customs and techniques. It seems wise to try to illustrate different degrees of adjustment and improvement, first among plains villages, then among hill villages; and in each case to begin with an example of slight change and conclude with an example of maximally successful adjustment.

Before turning to an account of what particular villages have done, however, it might be well to say something about village leadership, and the relations between villagers and officials of the national government. Until 1951, the villages (and larger

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

communities) were governed by appointees of the Ministry of Interior. This sometimes led to disharmony and distrust between the inhabitants and their legal representatives. In 1951, however, elections were organized in villages (and larger communities), so that for the first time since the war the people had a chance to choose their own local officials. Villagers elect members of the village council, which varies in size with the size of the community. The council members then choose one of their number as president and another as secretary.

The secretary's duty is to keep village records; but the main responsibilities rest upon the president. He represents the village in all dealings with the outer world, and has an informal authority to hear complaints and settle quarrels within the village. Legal cases, however, lie beyond his competence; they are dealt with by regular judges, appointed by the Ministry of Justice.

A second center of village leadership is the church. Every village has a church, and the priest is often a native of the village, distinguished from his fellows by a special garb and the fact that he has attended a seminary for a year or longer. Priests are appointed by bishops, but a congregation has the right to refuse a nomination, or to object to a priest it dislikes. In such cases the bishop normally attempts to find someone else to suit the wishes of the community.

A third focus of leadership is the school system. Nearly every village has a primary school, staffed by a teacher who has had at least a secondary school education. Unlike the priest or the president, he is most often a stranger to the community, appointed to his post by the Ministry of Education. Here, in many villages, lies an important point of contact with the outside world; but just because the schoolmaster is usually an outsider and often a city man, he fails to command in most villages quite the same trust and authority that the priest and president enjoy.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

The smallness of the original farms and the large size of most families in Nea Eleftherohori began, even in the late 1930's, to present the villagers with a very serious problem. What were their children going to do? To divide the land was a desperate solution, inasmuch as the farms were already near the minimum that a single family could subsist upon. Somehow or other, all but one son had to be freed from the land, find some other form of livelihood, and leave the entire farm to be inherited by one brother. Hopeless poverty if not outright hunger was the certain lot of everyone who stayed on a divided inheritance.[3]

Nea Eleftherohori has been less fortunate than Lofiscos in still another respect. Situated at the foot of Mount Olympus, it lay just on the edge of the territory that guerrilla bands controlled in 1943–45 and again in 1947–49. These were, therefore, years of intense political insecurity in the village, and some loss of life. In 1947 the guerrillas organized a raid upon Nea Elef-

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the new generation? If so, why not in Nea Eleftherohori? To be sure, that village pursued a more nearly subsistence style of agriculture between the wars; but this fact by itself does not seem enough to explain the contrast. Perhaps the prevalence of early marriages in Nea Eleftherohori, consequent upon the mode of land distribution in 1927, accounts for the difference, early marriages naturally bringing larger families; or perhaps some recklessness engendered by the catastrophic upheaval which the Asia Minor refugee population underwent encouraged large families, for there is in Nea Eleftherohori, as in all of Greece, a noticeable differential in birth rate between refugee and "old settler" groups, with the refugees standing higher.

3. In legal form, the Greek government retained title to all the land distributed to refugees and squatters after World War I. Part of the original justification for this policy was that it would permit the government to prevent excessive subdivision of peasant farms; and it was still the case in 1956 that legal tenure of each allotment was lodged in a single family head. This, however, did not prevent some families from dividing the allotments in practice among the heirs. Yet the fact that such divisions could not be legalized may perhaps have reinforced the reluctance of the families of Nea Eleftherohori to make them.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947,.1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohc

[Villages of the Plains]

621 therohori and plundered an UNRRA storehouse which had
669 been set up there. This was bad enough from the point of view
578 of the villagers; but what was far more awkward was the fact that sentiment was seriously divided within the village itself. Approximately half the population sympathized more or less completely with the guerrillas, and in 1947–48 about twenty young men and women from the village fought in their ranks. Only three of them returned. In 1947, when I first visited Nea Eleftherohori, the atmosphere was exceedingly tense. No one was quite sure of his neighbor, and no one was sure whether the government or the guerrillas would win in the end. Armed men patrolled the village at night on behalf of the government, and felt free to pay disconcerting calls upon families known or believed to be sympathetic with the guerrillas. Fifteen persons were arrested by the nearby gendarmes after the raid of 1947, and one of them was executed; the rest returned only after two and a half years of detention. The general mood of the village at that time was one of fear and frustration. No one could see any solution to the difficulties of the present, still less those of the future. What could the young boys do who were not needed at home? With no land available in the village, and no jobs obtainable in town, the situation seemed nearly hopeless.

By 1956 the outlook had changed. First of all, the political division within the village had healed over, leaving almost no trace. The renewed solidarity of village feeling dated from 1950, when the president and council of the community – who, as appointees of the Ministry of Interior, were of course leading anti-Communists – asked the local police to release two of the village boys who had returned from serving with the guerrillas and had been arrested on general suspicion. The police acted favorably upon this request, and allowed their prisoners to go free without further punishment. This affair, which showed a degree of magnanimity on the part of the anti-Communist lead-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherchori

[Villages of the Plains]

ers of the village since a son of one of them had been caught and killed in a guerrilla ambush near the village during the war, inaugurated a new era in Nea Eleftherohori. Everyone felt relieved that old feuds were not to be pursued, and made haste to forget the quarrels that had so long divided the village.

More important, or at least more promising for the long run, was that after 1950 the villagers began to see some hope of a solution to their long-range difficulties. This hope was based on two innovations. They began to send nearly all their younger sons to secondary school, hoping thereby to qualify them for jobs in town, away from the land. And they began to intensify their farming and to increase their cash income by raising market crops on a far greater scale than before.

The path to higher education was greatly facilitated by the proximity of a gymnasium (i.e., a "classical" high school), located in a large village about ten miles away. A bus service was instituted between Nea Eleftherohori and the school, enabling boys from the village to attend classes and still live at home. Since there were no tuition fees, secondary school education became comparatively cheap; though even so, the cost of books and other supplies was, for many families, a serious matter. By 1956 no fewer than thirty-six boys from Nea Eleftherohori were attending the gymnasium. This number included almost every boy of appropriate age who had an elder brother, that is, almost every boy who would not inherit a farm. Roughly one third of all the families of the village had a boy in the gymnasium.

Since 1950, a number of changes in farming methods have also occurred. The first was the use of fertilizer. A few farmers had experimented with it before the war, but it cost so much that they found that in a year of bad or only middling weather they could not make enough on the extra yield of their fields to pay off the debt incurred to buy it. Hence use of fertilizer was abandoned, to be resumed only in 1950. By 1956 "everybody"

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Palee Corinthes

[Villages of the Plains]

Particularly fortunate conditions in Old Corinth – tourism, irrigation, the proximity to the Athens market, and the effective leadership of the village president – have permitted the villagers to maintain their old family customs almost unchanged, and in spite of the rapid growth of population which such customs entail, they have not had to sacrifice their standard of living. Instead, living conditions have improved, with electricity, tractors and the like.

This is a situation very rare in Greece. It makes Old Corinth the happiest village I visited, a community at peace with itself and with the world, mildly surprised by the prosperity that has descended upon it, and generally well content with the way things are going. The contrast is strong with the internal condition of the village in 1947, when, like Nea Eleftherohori, the community was sharply divided between left and right. In 1947, indeed, the bitterness between the two political parties was far deeper than in Nea Eleftherohori, for in Old Corinth the political lines were drawn, more or less exactly, between farmers and landless men, that is, between buyers and sellers of labor. Two particularly squalid "political" murders occurred within the village in the last days of the German occupation; and the Communist-inspired regime, which lasted for a few months in 1944, aroused strong revulsion among the substantial farmers. These memories now seem almost forgotten, though the sense of solidarity between rich and poor in Old Corinth is by no means so strong as the community feeling among the villagers of Nea Eleftherohori, where everybody is nearly equal economically.

The inequalities in landholding, and the existence of a fairly numerous landless class in the village, certainly constitute a potential source of trouble. If currant and tomato prices should fall, or if more migrants from the hills should come to the village and push wages down by competing for jobs in the fields, the existing harmony and general satisfaction could easily

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 break down. The more elaborate social stratification and intri-
578 cate economic integration which the development from simple
565 village into small town involves carries with it a special vulner-
ability: vulnerability to fluctuations in distant markets, and vul-
nerability to social stresses within the community itself. This is
perhaps the price Old Corinth has to pay for its remarkable eco-
nomic progress in recent years.

x178 This progress may remind us that there is another sense in
621 which the social structure of Old Corinth shows itself far more
556 flexible and hospitable to innovation than the other villages de-
scribed. For while family and marriage customs have not under-
gone important modification, the occupational patterns of the
community have shown important changes; and in at least one
instance a landless and once very poor man has risen to a posi-
tion of wealth and importance by becoming a successful mer-
chant. Old Corinth has given far more scope to individual and
cooperative enterprise than either Lofiscos or Nea Eleftherohori.
Yet this development, too, is in line with old Greek tradition.
The self-made man, particularly the self-made merchant or
storekeeper, rising to wealth and respectability by virtue of his
mother wit and shrewdness in buying and selling, has been a
prominent figure in Greek society for at least two centuries; and
it has always been the marginal man in the village social hier-
archy – the man who has had no land to keep him busy – who
has naturally gravitated to such occupations when opportunity
has opened. Innovation in Old Corinth has thus taken tradi-
tional forms.

x178 Since 1912, rural Greece has been fundamentally divided be-
184 tween villages like Old Corinth, which can look back to genera-
423 tions of substantially undisturbed evolution, and those villages
621 where within recent memory radical governmental intervention
entirely transformed earlier landholding patterns. The division
is geographical. In Old Greece, meaning Greece within the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

178 a crop of only about 30 okes of wheat per stremma (a little more
433 than 4 bushels per acre), and are capable of doing that only for
241 two or three years, after which time the field has to be aban-
423 doned for a while until its dubious fertility has been restored. The president of the village told me that he allows the villagers to clear land wherever they can find anything that seems worth clearing, even though this goes beyond the letter of the law and encroaches on what is properly common pasture.

178 The desperate effort to find more cultivable land throughout
313 the interwar, wartime and postwar years reflects the growing
314 exhaustion of the forests, upon which the majority of the village
433 population have come to depend. The villagers have cut off the trees farther and farther up the mountain, until only a little scrub oak remains; and even this is so thin that a man has to work hard and long to collect enough wood to make a charcoal
[438] burning. Since World War II, indeed, it has become more usual to sell the wood in its raw form, even though this multiplies transport problems, and means far less money per donkey-load delivered to Volos.

178 Within the village itself bitter feelings began to rise during
241 the interwar period. The three families that had turned to agri-
423 culture in 1905, thus securing possession of the only decent
565 agricultural land in the whole village, were able to keep their
578 farms together. In 1956, one of the three families had removed
427 entirely to Volos, and was renting out its land on a sharecropping basis to poorer families in the village. The other two "rich" families (who by any standard other than that of Cherasia were still poor) were each represented in the village by a single household, presumably because other descendants of the original owners had left for town. The result was a striking economic contrast between the poor woodcutters, whose painfully cleared hillside patches were scarcely worth the labor of cultivation, and the "rich" families. Indeed, the members of the two village

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

households owning 100 stremmata each did not find it necessary to work the land themselves. Like the absentee in Volos, they also rented their fields on a sharecropping basis to the others. The president of the village in 1956 was the head of one of these households; he had let the nail of his little finger on one hand grow in order to prove to everyone that he was exempt from manual labor. He was also the only fat man I saw in the village.

The bad feeling in Cherasia was not simply a matter of economics, however. Shepherds have had a proud tradition in Greece. Heavy manual labor is beneath them, and they have always felt themselves superior to the grubbing farmers of the plains. Moreover, a tradition of violence has always lain near the surface among shepherds. In days not so very far past, it was part of the shepherd's job to protect his flock from wolves. Even today a few wolves are said to survive in remote parts of Greece; and whenever public order breaks down, far more dangerous two-footed wolves, armed with guns, quickly appear. The transition from shepherd to bandit has always been easy. A shepherd losing his flock must almost automatically become a two-footed wolf himself, preying on other shepherds or, better yet, on the fat, stolid landlords and peasants of the plain.

In view of these traditions, one can better understand the spirit of Cherasia. Free shepherds, traditionally ready for violence, were being ground down to a status beneath that of the weaklings who in 1905 had preferred the indignity of labor to the leisure of mountain pastures; and to the people of Cherasia this seemed a clear reversal of the proper social order. They were most unwilling to accept such a reversal. They were not farmers, and did not wish to become farmers. As a result, they did not do all they might have done to make their hillside agriculture rewarding. Field labor was, for them, a regrettable necessity, not a satisfying way of life. They made no effort at

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

terracing, attempted no planting of fruit trees or of vines, and in general refused to borrow any of the traditional and very effective methods of Greek Mediterranean agriculture, even though there are villages on the other side of Mount Pelion, within less than two hours' walking distance, where these methods have been in use for centuries on land intrinsically no better than that of the Cherasia hillsides. (There is one important difference, however: because Cherasia's land faces north, toward the open Thessalian plain, cold winter winds blow across it and make olive cultivation impossible. But olive cultivation is and has always been the backbone of Mediterranean hillside agriculture. This undoubtedly is the reason why settlers from over the mountain never tried to exploit Cherasia's hillsides, leaving them to shepherds for winter pasture.)

The upshot of the history and traditions of Cherasia was that even before World War II, a thoroughly revolutionary mood prevailed in the village. The poor – which is to say nearly everybody in the village except the three families – felt the need to find a scapegoat for what was happening to them. They despised but also envied the three "rich" families, and felt that it would no more than serve them right to be plundered of all they had gained. The villagers also held the government and all other persons in authority vaguely responsible for the straits in which they found themselves. They could not help casting greedy eyes upon rich villages like Lofiscos, which lies within sight of Cherasia, a scant twenty miles across the flat Thessalian plain. But unlike most Greek villagers, they did not really want agricultural land; plunder was more in line with the tradition of the community.

The Communist-led guerrilla movement of World War II therefore found unusually ready and unanimous support in Cherasia. No one was willing to tell me how many men from

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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worth, however, the records showed 45 births since 1951 as against 18 deaths, and everything I heard and observed in the village pointed to a very high rate of natural increase.

Marriages occur early. When nearly everyone lacks land that is worth much of anything, there is no tendency to wait until the new family can be assured a landed inheritance. One young man said, somewhat cynically: "What I had when I married was a donkey, an axe and a strong back. I still have all three, and three children as well." The donkey, I gathered, was his wife's contribution to the new household; the axe and the back, his own. This, it seems, is more or less normal in the village; and one can easily understand how a desire to escape the nagging poverty of the parental household would lead young men and girls into early marriage, in order at least to enjoy personal independence and the satisfactions of the marriage bed. Even though the rest of their traditional style of life seems on the verge of ruin, this still is possible. Feeling a general despair of ever being able to live decently, feeling also a certain reckless defiance of all forms of authority – including parental authority – there seems to persons such as the young man who spoke to me no reason not to marry as soon as one can find a partner.

In spite of the rebellious mood prevailing in Cherasia, the officials of the village in 1956, although supposedly elected, represented the extreme right. The president and secretary were both members of the "rich" families, possessing comparatively broad acres, and both were very emphatic and voluble in asserting that the only way to deal with Communists was to use force. Indeed, they said that peace could come to Cherasia and to Greece only when Russia was blown up by American atom bombs. How they were elected, I do not know, but I am certain the election was not a free one. Suspicion and thinly veiled hostility dominated the relation between the villagers and their official leaders.

/20 cont./ In 443 438

exchange for their agricultural products they get, kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most farmers hang around the bazaar corners to watch the bargaining tricks of livestock merchants, visiting other friends from other villages, or buy and sell ocen, or watch the bazaar price for different commodities. These bazaars for many farmers are reliable centers of information, to know how he can advantageously exchange his goods for the needs of his family. Based of long experience, the farmer has found it safer to keep his goods rather than money. Money, he thinks, creates more enemies than anything else. 436

The economic system which the farmer of Megali Vrisi and in general the farmer of the area developed is peculiar to one crop farming. The farmer usually makes all his purchases from one merchant, who could give him credit and collect it at harvest time in kind. The farmer goes to the market once a week for his needs. His merchant keeps the account. The farmer never keeps any account and never tries to investigate his accounts fearing he may lose his chance of getting credit. If the merchant is sincere and God-fearing and does not /21/ like to cheat the farmer, the farmer may be lucky, but I question this since my experience in that area proved to me, that in spite of the large amount of non-collected debts, the merchants were far better off than the farmers. At harvest season the merchants gather around the coffee houses. They carry scales and a sack, and go from house to house to collect the debts in kind. If the farmer had a poor year, he usually pretends to be missing from the village so as to delay his year's payment and postpone it for the coming year. Hard feelings usually develop and if the merchant stops the credit he may lose what he already has to collect. Thus the farmer is tied up to the merchant and the merchant is forced to continue credit to the farmer. Bad years usually create hard feeling between these two groups. The agricultural bank which tried hard to displace the merchants could not very well do it. The loans it offered were very little and could not cover all the needs of the farmer. The

443 452 [433] [451] [578] [652] ooo

/29 cont./
leave school the second or third year and often with ill health. Two of the young men died from T. B. in Megali Vrisi. Both of them were in High School for two years. 871 164

Discipline. Besides the local school which plays /30/ a large part in discipline, the established morals of the village disciplines the youth. The part also of the grandparents and especially that of "Gerousia" is important. The most effective type and enforced one is through "Gerousia". 861 876 [626] [623]

The stick at home and at school still has its blessings, since according to the philosophy of the villagers it came out of paradise. Even married men sometimes are subjected to this stick punishment by the parents without any complaint. The teacher keeps it on his desk and one corner of his office is filled with reserve sticks to use in case one breaks. When a teacher has 175 students of six grades, there is no time for explaining why and how, the stick enforces everything. [593]

Political and Religious Training in the home. The political training is formed and reshaped in the coffee house. The convincing speakers and those that can read newspapers usually influence the rest. Coffee houses are places for recreation and the exchange of ideas, for forming political beliefs and for deciding important decisions for the community. Its function as a coffee drinking place is of minor importance. 275 517 [208] [867]

The name does not mean very much to the average person who does not have experience of the coffee house. The number of coffee houses usually denotes the magnitude /31/ of the conflict groups and the amount of leisure time the farmers have. The coffee houses, besides being the place where one sips his coffee and plays his "tavli", are also centers for drinking from soft to strong alcoholic drinks. Quarrels, conflicts, political discussions and gambling take place in the coffee houses. With all these evils, still the coffee house is one of the best social centers, and centers where the common farmers exchange ideas and become aware of the current world political problems. It is the center [578] [578] [525] [208]

/46 cont./

2. Have land close to the village which can be used for vegetable crops. 241 423

3. If the crop of one section fails, due to hail or flood, still his other fields are saved.

Disadvantages:

1. Waste of time on the road.

2. Hard to work without causing trouble /47/ to the neighbors.

3. Proper rotation can not be carried on.

4. Inefficient use of man and animal labor.

5. Trouble between neighbors either for stepping or stealing from each others fields.

6. Much land is lost for the roads and division lines.

The worst of all the disadvantages are the conflicts that are created among good neighbors because of stepping in each others fields or plowing a furrow on the dividing lines. The priest of the village, who is keen minded, found out that more cases are reported to courts due to field line differences. People who work close together often do not speak to each other because of such troubles. [578] [685]

The land is suitable for tobacco and opium poppies. These two crops have played a large part during years of prosperity in establishing class distinctions and in teaching the people to be more extravagant. 241 249 511 433

Due to surplus production of tobacco crop in the country this area was not allowed to plant either tobacco or poppies, but only to raise cereals. The income from cereals was not as high and forced the farmers to tighten their economy. The luxuries one by one /48/ started disappearing from the village. The debts that were created during prosperous years based on the yearly incomes were hard to pay back. [656] [426]

At present the organized production of cereals and especially of wheat occupies the largest part of the acreage. 243

Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 000

/48 cont./ Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 241 422 407 [412] [435]

1	Harrow	$3
1	Plow, iron	1.50
1	Wooden plow	1.00
1	Yoke	1.00
3	Hoes	0.35
2	Shovels	0.25
2	Sickles	0.35

The above are the implements which the farmer uses in his farming. Borrowing of tools and implements is extensively practiced by the farmers. [474] Some of the implements and machinery that are too expensive to be owned by one farmer are owned cooperatively such as seed cleaning machine, harrow and harvesting machines. This cooperative movement is very successful and solves some of their pressing economic problems. [326] [445] Some of the implements are made locally and all repairs are done by the local blacksmith.

/49/ Domestic Animals. The livestock problem is one which is still in its infancy. All the sheep are owned by the Thracians and they are increasing them every year. 233 The sheep is the competitor of the cow. A farmer can live without sheep but cannot do without cows, since the only source of power is the cow. [492] [578] The feeling between the sheep owners and the rest of the farmers is not very good, and may develop into a very critical conflict if steps are not taken ahead of time to prevent it. Since pasturing the fields and community pasture is free to any one, the sheep take [423] advantage of this law and get the greatest benefit in competition with the cows.

The local cows are a mixture of the scrubby Macedonian breed and so far no attempt was made to improve the livestock.

One solution discussed for solving some of the pressing problems of livestock is by taxation as follows:

1. No tax should be paid by the sheep up to 12 head.
2. 12 to 25 heads 15 cents per head.
3. 25 to 40 " 30 " " "
4. 40 to 80 " 75 " " "

/89 cont./
a twin, and when they mourn they mourn together. Their sentimental songs are always tinged with the air of sadness. Even at the funerals they sing the same songs which they sing when they have a merry time. Mutual aid is the characteristic quality of the Caucasians in their work, in their joy, and in their sorrow. On the contrary, the Thracians are strictly individualistic and regard mutual aid as the sign of laziness. 621 476 [533] [152]

/90/ Conflicts. Regardless of the mutual aid and the cooperation they have, the conflicts are very prevalent. They occur either among the two groups or among the members of one group. The causes of the conflicts are for controlling the village cooperative, the mayorship of the village, or as a consequence of a proposal to marriage which was declined. It is important here to note that regardless of the conflict situation if the "Gerousia" wanted to finish a certain community project they all shared alike the burden. In spite of the official power the cooperative has and the organized super-imposed government mayor has, the "Gerousia", the unofficial body of old men is the real axis or the center of any unanimous movement. Conflicts which are temporarily settled by the mayor or by the goverment courts eventually reach the peaceful settlement of the "Gerousia" who know so well how to make the people forgive each other. The judge at the courts reads the law and enforces the punishment according to the act, but "Gerousia" knows so well the past of every one and even the type of family for one or two generations and touches the pride of every one by enumerating the good qualities and good dispositions of his father or grandfather. The position of "Gerousia" is that of a father and the effect they have on the person is lasting. Jealousies, small /91/ fights and family difficulties are settled by "Gerousia". This group is a government within a government, officially unknown, but it stands as the only guiding hand for the village community. At times of great distress and difficulties, people consult the "Gerousia". The church, the priest, the teacher and the doctor do not have as constructive an influence as the "Gerousia" does. It is not a voted body but has the unofficial 623 627 578 [692] [554]

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general approval of all. The punishment of the "Gerousia" is ostracism until the person repents and asks forgiveness. The fear and respect towards "Gerousia" is greater than to anybody or group of people. One of the young men planning to divorce his wife because she could not bear any child, told of his experience with the "Gerousia". "Their words are sharper than the sharpest sword".

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Latent Neighborhood Conflict Attitudes. The jealousy of the nearby villages toward the successful cooperation of the villagers of Megali Vrisi was noticed many times. The success of Megali Vrisi in bringing the doctors who serve the area to their village, and in making it the center for the health project, naturally created hard feelings with the competing villages. The success with which the Caucasians of Megali Vrisi worked /92/ in organizing a young men's organization, increasing the number of teachers, building their church and having one of the well-organized cooperatives, has made it the leading village of the area.

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Active Conflicts. One of the active conflicts that exists in Megali Vrisi is the one between the Thracians and Caucasians. Each group in trying to preserve its identity tries to dominate the other by having more power in controlling the village council and cooperative. The Thracians as a minority, have never had any chance to get to any office for the last 16 years. The strong opposition they had from the Caucasians, united them on every question raised, and their inability to compete with the Caucasians has developed within every Thracian the illogical type of opposition. "Vote it down if it is a Caucasian proposal, whether good or bad." Regardless of this opposition, the Caucasians undertook to carry on their constructive community work by bearing the share of the Thracians too. Conflicts among different kinship groups were of a minor type and never developed to such a magnitude as to have destructive results. The "Gerousia" checked them. The conflict between the Thracians and the Caucasians was beyond the power of the "Gerousia". The Thracians never had any "Gerousia" and as a result took more cases to the court and spent more /93/ money and time for it. The conflicts among the

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[623]
[692]

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Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

Social Control, Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control [692]
over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of what is right or wrong. The government courts had little influence in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many [685]
families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields; their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the 626
women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. All the men drink, 273
but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk. When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community 543
fairs represent the inception of social organization for the pro- 621
motion of recreation. The purpose of these fairs was competition 476
in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant 578
so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major 461
problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how 517
to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure 241
time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature [578]
of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from December to April there is no farm work except the chores which are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

each fact wrapped in some subjective, protective covering. The fact is true and dependable, but it should not be naked. A memorandum of fact by a Greek is full of such phrases as: "Then the nobleness of the Greek soul was revealed," or "The Greek peasant modestly died . . . to protect his beloved country, but his death was one of the noblest sacrifices to the idea of liberty." Or, if Greeks have to criticize, they do it with oratory also, reviling passionately, as when a mother scolds a loved one with fury but not with cold and calculating anger.

The covering of the naked fact is essential to the integrity—the absence of all molestation—of the *philotimo*. The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope*, a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*.

The Greek *philotimo* should not be confused either with the notion of face or with that of pride. Pride for the Greeks carries with it the connotation of arrogance: "the proud bird is caught by the nose". A Greek mother is not proud of her son: she is honoured by him; the *philotimo* is enhanced through honour, not pride. There is something of the notion of face, in that it is insupportable to have one's failures and needs known. But there is more than this; what is really bad is that you yourself should expose your failure or yourself. And you have no *philotimo* if you avoid going to fight for your country, whether anyone knows this or not.

The essence of *philotimo* is inviolability and freedom. The first means that a Greek is very "touchy". In a very popular work of the thirties, which gives a humorous report of the cases in the Court of Petty Offences, a large proportion of the cases arise out of this molestation of the *philotimo*. The reaction is immediate, either in scathing invective, such as name-calling, or as physical attack. Offence against one's *philotimo* brings retaliation, not self-reproach. There are suicides in Athens for financial reasons, or for love, but none are reported as a result of a molested *philotimo*.

Freedom is the positive aspect of this. Greeks say: "To be a Greek means to be free," and "Nothing is beautiful unless you are free, not even the flowers in the spring."[1] It gave the Greeks a great sense of

[1] Joanne Lee Schriver, 1947.